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EVENING READING

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This afternoon Under Secretary Mike Armacost briefed the Members of the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, House Foreign Affairs Committee, concerning Afghanistan. The meeting was attended by Subcommittee Chairman Steve Solarz and Congressmen Solomon, Gilman, Leach, Lagomarsino, McCullough, Dornan, Bilbray, and Wilson. Secretary Armacost briefed the Members on the status of the Geneva talks and the recent discussions with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze on this subject.

The Members' questions focused mainly on the issue of symmetry with regard to the cessation of assistance to both the Afghan Resistance Fighters and the Government in Kabul. They also questioned the timetable for Soviet troop withdrawal. In addition, they expressed their concern about possible Iranian influence on the formulation of a successor government and the future relationship between the United States and whatever Afghan regime may follow.

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3/30/88 1-4204

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MAR 29 1988

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM
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TO: P - Mr. Armacost

FROM: H - J. Edward Fox *John*

SUBJECT: Briefing The HFAC Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific
 Affairs on Afghanistan, Wednesday, March 30 at
 11:15 a.m. in Room 2255 Rayburn

SETTING

At Congressman Solarz's request, you have agreed to conduct a closed briefing for the members of the HFAC Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee on Afghanistan. In addition to the Subcommittee members, I understand that Solarz also has invited other interested members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee to attend.

BACKGROUND

This closed briefing, to be chaired by Steve Solarz will, I anticipate, focus on House efforts to craft a House resolution on U.S. policy toward Afghanistan. Although you are not expected to participate in a Subcommittee markup of a resolution, you should expect that the Members' questions will be aimed at discerning Administration policy vis-a-vis Afghanistan (the Proximity Talks, U.S.-USSR negotiations, etc.) and particularly, the issue of termination or scaling-down of Soviet and U.S. assistance to the Kabul regime and the Afghan resistance.

As you know, the House has attempted, since the Senate's adoption of S. Res. 386 on February 29 (Tab 1), to pass its own Afghan resolution. On March 7, Congressman Gerry Solomon and other Republican members introduced the same resolution as H. Res. 392 (Tab 2). Six days later, Solomon introduced a compromise resolution, H. Res. 396 (Tab 3), which responded to comments submitted by Solarz. Solarz has withheld support, however, based on a single item. H. Res. 396 contains the policy that the U.S. "should not cease, suspend, diminish, or

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otherwise restrict assistance to the Afghan Resistance...until the President has determined that the Soviets have terminated their military occupation..."(emphasis added). Solarz has insisted on using the phrase "are terminating" or adopting some other expression that would keep open the possibility that U.S. assistance could be terminated not only prior to complete Soviet withdrawal but also perhaps even before any major drawdown of Soviet forces.

Additional substitute language has also been circulated:

By Solomon: "...have substantially terminated their military occupation of Afghanistan and have irrevocably committed themselves to the cessation of any military presence in Afghanistan". (Rejected by Solarz on the grounds that it implied too much Soviet withdrawal at the very beginning of the process and might prevent the U.S. from cutting off its aid early.)

By Solomon: "...that withdrawal of Soviet military forces is irrevocable and Soviet forces are not engaging in offensive military activities against the Mujaheddin". (Not tabled yet)

By the Department: "...until an irreversible Soviet withdrawal is assured and there is a symmetrical cessation of military assistance to the regime in Kabul". (Viewed by Republican Committee staff as vague on the extent and timing of the Soviet withdrawal required and as mixing the withdrawal issue with the issue of other military assistance to the Afghan regime.)

It is to be expected that some Members participating in the briefing will seek to have you bridge the gap between Solomon and Solarz on the aid cut-off question and, more broadly, on crafting a text of a House Afghanistan resolution acceptable to the Administration. You should expect that Members will ask you whether the U.S. would be willing to limit or suspend further assistance to the Resistance prior to the complete withdrawal of Soviet forces; how much "front loading" of Soviet withdrawal is necessary; will the Soviets be expected to agree not to conduct offensive operations against the Resistance forces; under what conditions would the Soviets agree to curtail assistance to the Kabul regime; what is current Administration policy on aid to the Afghan Mujaheddin? NEA talking points for your use are attached at Tab 4.

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SCENARIO

I will meet you in your office at 10:55 a.m. and will accompany you to the Hill. The briefing will be held in Room 2255 Rayburn. It will begin at approximately 11:15 a.m. and will last approximately one hour.

Attachments:

- Tab 1 - S. Res. 386
- Tab 2 - H. Res. 392
- Tab 3 - H. Res. 396
- Tab 4 - NEA Talking Points

Cleared: H: MJohnson *[Signature]*

Drafted: H: WEMiele
03/29/88 ext. 7-9037
NEA #2432

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100TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. RES. 386

To express the sense of the Senate on United States policy toward Afghanistan, especially toward the possibility of a Soviet troop withdrawal.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

FEBRUARY 29 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 15), 1988

Mr. BYRD (for himself, Mr. SIMPSON, Mr. PELL, Mr. DOLE, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mr. DECONCINI, Mr. SYMMS, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. WALLOP, Mr. BAUCUS, Mr. DIXON, and Mr. DODD) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to

RESOLUTION

To express the sense of the Senate on United States policy toward Afghanistan, especially toward the possibility of a Soviet troop withdrawal.

Whereas the Soviet Union invaded the sovereign territory of Afghanistan on December 27, 1979, and continues to occupy and attempt to subjugate that nation through the use of force, relying upon a puppet regime and an occupying army of an estimated 120,000 Soviet troops;

Whereas Pakistan has harbored more than 3,000,000 Afghan refugees and has endured hundreds of brutal raids across its borders by Afghan and Soviet aircraft and artillery, resulting in the deaths of hundreds of civilians;

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1 table based solely on logistical criteria for the complete
2 withdrawal of Soviet troops in the near future, and
3 provides for the return of refugees in safety and
4 dignity;

5 (2) expresses its belief that the Pakistani Govern-
6 ment should not be put under any pressure to agree to
7 Soviet terms for a settlement and that the future of
8 Afghanistan should not be driven by the desire or
9 schedule for a United States-Soviet summit;

10 (3) urges the President to—

11 (A) support strongly a political solution in
12 Kabul acceptable to the resistance;

13 (B) insist in talks with the Soviet Union that
14 all Soviet advisers be removed from Afghanistan
15 at the same time as Soviet troop withdrawal takes
16 place;

17 (C) address the issue of the future status of
18 the nearly 400 bilateral treaties the Soviets have
19 made with the puppet Kabul regime;

20 (D) address with the Soviets the deployment
21 of Soviet troops across the Soviet-Afghan border
22 after the completion of the withdrawal period;

23 (E) stand firm on the necessity for the Soviets
24 to terminate all forms of military assistance
25 and logistical support to the Kabul regime;

(F) address the repatriation by the Soviet Union of the more than 10,000 Afghan children who have been forcibly deported to the Soviet Union; and

(G) ensure that international assistance to the refugees continues at least until all Soviet and Soviet bloc forces have been withdrawn from Afghanistan and peace has been restored;

(4) expresses its belief that all Soviet and Soviet bloc advisers must be removed from Afghanistan during the period of troop withdrawal;

(5) expresses its support for increased United States humanitarian assistance to the Afghan people both during and following the withdrawal of Soviet and Soviet bloc forces from Afghanistan;

(6) expresses its support for a United Nations-sponsored peacekeeping force to help guarantee that Soviet forces can withdraw in an orderly way without being attacked on the way out and to help keep the peace in the major cities while an interim government organizes the nation's future; and

(7) expresses its strong belief that the Government of the United States should not cease, suspend, diminish, or otherwise restrict assistance to the Afghan resistance or take actions which might limit the ability

1 of the resistance to receive assistance until it is abso-
2 lutely clear that the Soviets have terminated their mili-
3 tary occupation, that they are not redeploying their
4 forces to be inserted again, and that the majahadeen is
5 well enough equipped to maintain its integrity during
6 the delicate period of a transition government leading
7 up to new elections.

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100TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. RES. 392

To express the sense of the House of Representatives on United States policy toward Afghanistan, especially toward the possibility of a Soviet troop withdrawal.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 1, 1988

Mr. SOLOMON (for himself, Mr. GILMAN, Mr. LAGOMARSINO, Mr. MCCOLLUM, and Mr. CRANE) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

RESOLUTION

To express the sense of the House of Representatives on United States policy toward Afghanistan, especially toward the possibility of a Soviet troop withdrawal.

Whereas the Soviet Union invaded the sovereign territory of Afghanistan on December 27, 1979, and continues to occupy and attempt to subjugate that nation through the use of force, relying upon a puppet regime and an occupying army of an estimated 120,000 Soviet troops;

Whereas Pakistan has harbored more than 3,000,000 Afghan refugees and has endured hundreds of brutal raids across its borders by Afghan and Soviet aircraft and artillery, resulting in the deaths of hundreds of civilians;

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Whereas on February 8, 1988, Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev announced that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan could begin on May 15, 1988, if the agreements on the settlement being negotiated between Afghanistan and Pakistan in Geneva were signed no later than March 15, 1988;

Whereas General Secretary Gorbachev also announced that the Soviet Union could complete the troop withdrawal within 10 months and that it could arrange the withdrawal such that during the first phase a relatively greater portion of the Soviet contingent could be withdrawn;

Whereas Pakistan has made it clear that it will not sign any agreements with the current Soviet puppet regime headed by Najibullah;

Whereas the Congress condemned Soviet policy toward and behavior in Afghanistan in Public Law 99-399, calling for appropriate provision of material support to the people of Afghanistan so long as the Soviet military occupation continues; and

Whereas Public Law 100-204 declares it to be the policy of the United States to support a negotiated settlement to the Afghanistan war providing for the prompt withdrawal of all Soviet forces from Afghanistan within a time frame based solely on logistical criteria: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved*, That the House of Representatives—

2 (1) reiterates its belief that the only acceptable
3 formula for settlement of the Afghan situation is one
4 which provides for the self-determination of the Afghan
5 people and results in a government genuinely repre-
6 sentative of the Afghan people, outlines a definite time-

1 table based solely on logistical criteria for the complete
 2 withdrawal of Soviet troops in the near future, and
 3 provides for the return of refugees in safety and
 4 dignity;

5 (2) expresses its belief that the Pakistani Govern-
 6 ment should not be put under any pressure to agree to
 7 Soviet terms for a settlement and that the future of Af-
 8 ghanistan should not be driven by the desire or sched-
 9 ule for a United States-Soviet summit;

10 (3) urges the President to—

11 (A) support a political solution in Kabul that
 12 is acceptable to the resistance;

13 (B) insist in talks with the Soviet Union that
 14 all Soviet and Soviet-Bloc advisers be removed
 15 from Afghanistan at the same time as Soviet
 16 troop withdrawal takes place;

17 (C) address the issue of the future status of
 18 the nearly 400 bilateral treaties the Soviets have
 19 made with the puppet Kabul regime;

20 (D) address with the Soviets the deployment
 21 of Soviet troops across the Soviet-Afghan border
 22 after the completion of the withdrawal period;

23 (E) stand firm on the necessity for the Sovi-
 24 ets to terminate all forms of military assistance
 25 and logistical support to the Kabul regime;

1 (F) address the repatriation by the Soviet
2 Union of the more than 19,000 Afghan children
3 who have been forcibly deported to the Soviet
4 Union; and

5 (G) ensure that international assistance to
6 the refugees continue at least until all Soviet
7 forces have been withdrawn from Afghanistan and
8 peace has been restored;

9 (4) expresses its belief that all Soviet and Soviet-
10 Bloc advisers must be removed from Afghanistan
11 during the period of troop withdrawal;

12 (5) expresses its support for increased United
13 States humanitarian assistance to the Afghan people
14 both during and following the withdrawal of Soviet
15 troops from Afghanistan;

16 (6) expresses its support for a United Nations
17 sponsored peacekeeping force to help guarantee that
18 Soviet forces can withdraw in an orderly way without
19 being attacked on the way out and to help keep the
20 peace in the major cities while an interim government
21 organizes the nation's future; and

22 (7) expresses its strong belief that the Govern-
23 ment of the United States should not cease, suspend,
24 diminish, or otherwise restrict assistance to the Afghan
25 resistance, or take actions which might limit the ability

1 of the resistance to receive assistance until it is abso-
2 lutely clear that the Soviets have terminated their mili-
3 tary occupation, that the Soviets are not redeploying
4 their forces to be inserted again, and that the Mujahi-
5 deen is well enough equipped to maintain its integrity
6 during the delicate period of a transition government
7 leading up to new elections.

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100TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. RES. 396

To express the sense of the House of Representatives on United States policy toward Afghanistan, especially toward the possibility of a Soviet troop withdrawal.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 7, 1988

Mr. SOLOMON (for himself, Mr. BROOMFIELD, Mr. LEACH, Mr. LAGOMARSINO, Mr. MCCOLLUM, Mr. CRANE, Mr. DREIER, and Mr. GILMAN) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

RESOLUTION

To express the sense of the House of Representatives on United States policy toward Afghanistan, especially toward the possibility of a Soviet troop withdrawal.

Whereas the Soviet Union invaded the sovereign territory of Afghanistan on December 27, 1979, and continues to occupy and attempt to subjugate that nation through the use of force, relying upon a puppet regime and an occupying army of an estimated one hundred and twenty thousand Soviet troops;

Whereas Pakistan has harbored more than three million Afghan refugees and has endured hundreds of brutal raids across its borders by Afghan and Soviet aircraft and artillery, resulting in the deaths of hundreds of civilians;

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Whereas on February 8, 1988, Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev announced that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan could begin on May 15, 1988, if the agreements on the settlement being negotiated between Afghanistan and Pakistan in Geneva were signed no later than March 15, 1988;

Whereas General Secretary Gorbachev also announced that the Soviet Union could complete the troop withdrawal within ten months and that it could arrange the withdrawal such that during the first phase, a relatively greater portion of the Soviet contingent could be withdrawn;

Whereas Pakistan has stated that it will not sign any agreements with the current Soviet puppet regime headed by Najibullah; and

Whereas the Congress has previously indicated its strong support for a negotiated settlement in Afghanistan providing for a prompt withdrawal of all Soviet forces from Afghanistan in a period of less than ten months: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved*, That the House of Representatives hereby—

2 (1) expresses its continued support for the Presi-
3 dent's policy of assisting the Afghan freedom fighters
4 and congratulates him on the success to date of this
5 bipartisan policy;

6 (2) reiterates its belief that the only acceptable
7 formula for settlement of the Afghan situation is one
8 which provides for the self-determination of the Afghan
9 people and results in a government genuinely repre-
10 sentative of the Afghan people, outlines a definite time-
11 table of less than ten months for the complete with-

drawal of Soviet troops in the near future, and provides for the return of refugees in safety and dignity;

(3) strongly supports the efforts of the Government of Pakistan to achieve a satisfactory agreement in the current round of the Geneva negotiations and rejects any efforts to obstruct the desire of the Afghan people to achieve an early, complete and irreversible withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan;

(4) urges the President to—

(A) support strongly a political solution in Kabul acceptable to the resistance;

(B) insist in talks with the Soviet Union that all Soviet advisers be removed from Afghanistan at the same time that the Soviet troop withdrawal takes place;

(C) address the issue of the future status of the nearly four hundred bilateral treaties the Soviets have made with the puppet Kabul regime;

(D) address with the Soviets the deployment of Soviet troops across the Soviet-Afghan border after the completion of the withdrawal period;

(E) insist that the Soviets terminate all forms of military assistance and logistical support to the Kabul regime;

(F) address the repatriation by the Soviet Union of the more than ten thousand Afghan children who have been forcibly deported to the Soviet Union; and

(G) ensure that international assistance to the refugees continues at least until all Soviet and Soviet bloc forces have been withdrawn from Afghanistan and peace has been restored;

(5) expresses its belief that all Soviet and Soviet bloc advisers must be removed from Afghanistan during the period of troop withdrawal;

(6) expresses its support for increased United States humanitarian assistance to the Afghan people both during and following the withdrawal of Soviet and Soviet bloc forces from Afghanistan;

(7) expresses its support for an international observer force that would monitor Soviet compliance with the accord, particularly the withdrawal of Soviet forces, and also report on any violations by other parties to the accord;

(8) expresses its strong belief that the Government of the United States should not cease, suspend, diminish, or otherwise restrict assistance to the Afghan resistance or take actions which might limit the ability of the resistance to receive assistance until the Presi-

Substantially

1 dent has determined that the Soviets have ~~terminated~~
2 their military ^{capability?} occupation, that they are not redeploying
3 ~~their forces to be inserted again; and that the mujaha-~~
4 deen is well enough equipped to maintain its integrity
5 during the period in which Soviet forces are being
6 withdrawn from Afghanistan and a transitional govern-
7 ment is formed; and

8 (9) expresses its sense that, in the event the
9 Soviet Union reneges on its commitments under the
10 Geneva accord, the United States would be relieved of
11 any obligations under that accord.

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TALKING POINTS

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